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766 spirit was accomplished by the sacrifice of from one to ten human victims. Accompanying this sacrifice there was a great feasting and rejoicing, for it was believed that the tribal god would give abundance of fruits.

The following description of the practices surrounding a chief's death is from the Dordillon MS.: When the chief became seriously ill, a woman 763 diviner *(vehine tau'a)* was called in to discover the cause of the illness. 787 While the chief was sick, his wife and children wept; when he died, everyone came to weep, cutting themselves with bamboo until the blood was spread all about, crying out, "Oh, our chief, here is your miserable child, your miserable child who stays with you. Your death brings misery to your child." All the household, including the servants *(fa'e toa)* wept a great deal. The women relatives of the chief danced outside the house where the body lay, then went inside to him, crying, "Oh, our chief, this is your *heva*." The body rested in the chief's dwelling for six months and was then taken to a sacred house *(fa'e tapu)*. Here the skin was taken off *(ua hoe te kī'i)*—a very long process. While this was being done, a burial house *(fa'e tupapa'u)* was built. When the skin was off and the flesh blackened and dried, the body wrapped in cloth, a head dress was put on the head, ornaments in the ears, and so on. Thus dressed in complete regalia, the corpse was put into a coffin, after which it was carried into its sacred house amidst shooting of guns. This house was built by the chief's servants. While building it, they had to eat there, and after finishing their work, they must bathe in the sea before eating in a common house. While the body lay in the sacred house, the wife offered food and tobacco to it, and continued to mourn and weep all the time the body lay there. The body was left in this house for a year. Then the chief's children came and closed the eyes with leaves, wrapped the bones in a piece of cloth, and hid them in some place in the mountains. Valuables were put in the bundle with the bones. It was a great insult to the remains if they were wrapped in a mat or in anything that had been worn by a woman.

766 According to Père Pierre's account, when a *tau'a* died the whole tribe 784 was under a general *tapu* and warriors were immediately despatched to seek victims. All the people cooked enough pigs to last for seven days, during which time no fires could be built, no one could leave his house, and no work could be done. When the human sacrifices had been secured, the *tapu* was lifted. The body was put on the temple platform and there the sacrifices were offered in its honor. If on the seventh day a victim had not been found, men went to the temple, each carrying on his shoulders a piece of wood and a germinated coconut, which were put on the sacred place. This accomplished, the *tapu* was lifted (4).

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463 565 monial priest, who presided in all important ritual, and served as repository and teacher of sacred and traditional lore. This *tuhuna* is discussed in connection with the rites in which he functioned. There seems to have been no particular dress or insignia that distinguished *tuhuna* as a class in every day life, although they wore a special ceremonial dress at the time of rites, as did others taking part. This dress will be described in connection with these rites.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF ALL INDUSTRY

461 464 Before entering upon the detailed description of the different types of work, it may be well to summarize the main features that characterized enterprise of every kind. In the first place anyone who was employing others to do work for him was expected to feed his employees during the time of the labor, as well as to pay them. If it were a large undertaking the directors and experts and their assistants were both fed and housed during the whole time of the labor.

461 784 All work was consecrated, *tapu*, for the reason that its successful accomplishment required the shutting out of any contaminating influences. The *tapu* on workers and places of work may be compared to the prophylactic precautions of medical practice—these *tapu* in the Marquesas were to guard the product of the work from evil spiritual influences. The building of special houses for the accomplishment of all work and consecration of the precincts were to insure freedom from contaminating influences. These special houses were of different forms which are described in connection with the various enterprises. Regarded from a practical point of view they were shelters that protected the workers and their work from the elements. Before beginning work all those who were to take part had to purify themselves, to insure that no evil influences would be brought to the work. The evil influences that had to be guarded against were mostly those associated with womankind, the contamination connected with the reproductive functions of woman; and evil spirits that were supposed to associate themselves with females. Persons and things that had been associated with consecrated labor were regarded as sacred. Before such persons could return to common activities, such as eating and sexual life, they had to be relieved of the sacred influence by bathing or by a chant. And things, such as the sacred houses, that had been associated with the work had to be destroyed by burning.

461 [787] There were omens prophetic of the successful or unsuccessful accomplishment of labor, but modern informants know little about them, as omens were a part of the knowledge of *tuhuna* and were restricted to them. Especial deities presided over every type of activity. Chants and spells

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native described to me the way in which on one occasion, he had helped carry a stone weighing several tons to which were lashed a number of large poles radiating in several directions.

HOUSE-BUILDING

The occasion of building of a new house was usually in honor of a first-born son. The construction of the platform (*paepae*) and the house (*fa'e*) itself was regarded as one enterprise, though a new house was frequently placed on an old platform. The labor was characterized as *hana me'ie* (common work) because the sleeping house was not *tapu;* hence the enterprise required no sacrifice. Although the house itself was not sacred yet the work on it, like all labor, was *tapu*, and required consecration of the workers. All of the work was done by men except the making of the coconut mats used for thatching, and of the pandanus mats used on the bed space, this being women's work. Before beginning the work, all the

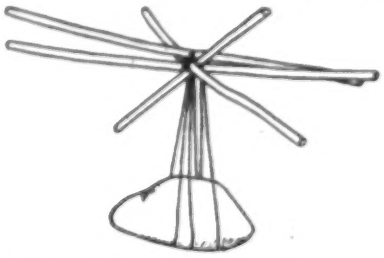

FIGURE 14.—Method of carrying heavy stones.

men who were to take part in it bathed in the sea in order to free themselves from contaminating influences.

The man who desired to have a new house erected employed the house-building *tuhuna* (*tuhuna hakatu fa'e, tuhuna hakatu paepae*). The assistants of this *tuhuna* were called *ta akau* (*ta*, strike; *akau*, wood) or *te tau poi ma te kaokao* (the people by-the-side). A feast was prepared and served, all who came being expected to bring stones. After the feast the *tuhuna* took charge of the work, those who had brought the stones working under his direction. The master builder laid the first stone, indicating the true line, and directed the operation. The two stones at each front corner of the platform were laid by the master *tuhuna* himself in the afternoon of the first day. Then a ceremonial priest (*tuhuna pu'e* or *tuhuna o'ono*) intoned the *pu'e* chant, ending that day's labor, the actual building of the platform being done the following day. A rainfall during the night was a sign that both the owner of the house and the *tuhuna* who was building it would die.

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Inspiration of a Tau'a

The inspiration of such a priest by his god took the form of violent possession. So far as I have been able to find out, no artificial means were employed in inducing the physical state. Although, like the other old men, the inspirational priest consumed much *kava*, it does not seem to have been the object of inducing possession. When the priest was in such a state of possession, it was thought that the spirit which was animating him and speaking through his mouth was that of the god. According to Garcia (14, p. 46) when an inspirational priest desired to be possessed he would usually sleep at night in a sacred place, laying his head on the trunk of a coconut tree near the place consecrated to the god. Suddenly he would cry out that he heard the god coming and then he would make a noise, sometimes loud, sometimes soft, but always peculiar, seemingly a trick of ventriloquism, with which practice these priests were acquainted. Stewart says (26, p. 246) that

> . . . in their fits of inspiration they become convulsed, glare fiercely with their eyes, and put their hands into a violent quiver, running about prophesying death to their enemies, in a squeaking voice, and at times demanding human victims for the god by whom they were possessed.

In the manuscript of Père Pierre (4) the possession and activity of *tau'a* at such times are described as follows:

> When a god entered into the body of a *tau'a* (*etua kooka*) and took possession of him, the *tau'a* became depressed and his body became convulsed. If the god did not leave him soon, he took in his hand a stick of iron-wood (*koto*) and set about traveling around the country like a man transported by the god or demon. The domestics of the priests (*moa*) and the *tauoha* (dancers) accompanied him in his evolutions. The *tauoha* danced in a grotesque manner about him. Arrived at a valley, he went to rest upon the sacred place (*ma'oe*) and passed the night there to incorporate in himself the god of this place. He behaved thus in all the valleys through which they passed. During all the time of his evolutions or possession, he took nothing at all for nourishment but the water of coconut. It was not permitted to maltreat him, nor any of his followers, because of the god who resided in him; but the *moa* and the *tauoha* must watch that no one gave him the water of coconut with *eka* (amomum) in it, lest the god abandon him. Should he drink this potion he would have ceased to be a *tau'a* and his virtue would have passed to him who had given him this drink.
>
> During his evolutions, all work was suspended. It was not even permitted to light a fire. Everybody must stay at home and shave his head. It was forbidden to carry *eka*, to rub oneself with it, or to anoint one's self with oil, under pain of being put to death by the god. The *tau'a* tried to kill with his staff (*koto*) any whom he saw smearing themselves with the yellow *eka*. Arrived at the valley next his own, he would throw his staff into the sea and this stick would arrive before him upon the beach of his own district. [In the story of Fatu-a-nono, a *tau'a* is saved from drowning by her staff, which bears her to shore from a swamped canoe.]
>
> Having returned to his district, he went to the sacred place. The *moa* and the *tauoha* built him a house with green coconut leaves. In a moment of convulsions he cried: "*Ena tu u toiha i N—*" (There are my sacrifices at N—), stating the num-

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ber of victims required and the places where they would be found. People then went to look at the place indicated for the number of victims fixed by the *tau'a*. If the victims designated had not been found at the place indicated by him he would have been regarded as an impostor and no longer a *tau'a*. But the natives say that he was never mistaken.

A priestess possessed by a god or demon (*etua hooha*) made the same evolutions. If she took in her hand a *hoto* (pointed stick of ironwood), it was a sign that human victims were necessary. If she took nothing but a piece of sugar cane, it was a sign that they were not necessary. She wore nothing upon her body but a waist cloth. Relatives could prevent her from making these excursions or evolutions by hiding her loin cloth, thus leaving her entirely naked.

The Sanctity of a Tau'a

The sanctity of the *tau'a* was greater than that of any other member of the tribe. When he was possessed, or when he died, the whole tribe was under a ceremonial *tapu*, which required that no work be done, that no one circulate in the valley, that no fire be lighted, and that no one anoint himself which coconut oil nor with saffron. His great sanctity may easily be understood when one considers that the living man himself was regarded as a god, at most times being called *atua*, god. According to Père Siméon, even the shadow of his house was *tapu*. When a *tau'a* died on Fatu Hiva, his house and all his possessions were burned. His body was so sacred that it could not be touched by anyone. Hence it was not treated and mummified, as other bodies were, but was carried on a bier to a cave in the mountains and there left to decompose. Mr. Linton has given me some interesting examples of the way in which property could be rendered *tapu* by naming it after a *tau'a*. This custom, discussed under Names, made it possible for individuals or a group to restrict a piece of property by giving it a sacred name that belonged to them, thus consecrating the property to themselves. Garcia (14, p. 52) speaks of one *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva, who at his death made red a *tapu* color—thereafter all red things were sacred to him, even fruits and animals.

Private Life of a Tau'a

The evidence of modern informants as to whether *tau'a* married and had families is conflicting. According to some they were allowed to have nothing at all to do with women; others say that they associated with women, when not functioning ceremonially, but had no children; while still others say that intercourse with women was *tapu* only during the performance of rites, but that during the rest of the time *tau'a* might have a family life exactly as did every other member of the tribe. The rules or customs regarding this may have varied in different places. Certain it is, from various sources of evidence, that some *tau'a* had wives and children. The family of a *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva is described by Stewart

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flamboyant tree (*kenae, Erythrina indica*) was in flower, and to have been an hereditary affliction. 158

A modern Nuku Hiva informant told me of persons who run wild (*koea* or *horai*) sometimes going into desert regions to live.

TREATMENT OF DISEASE

Divination of the Cause of Sickness

Practitioners who were called upon to divine the cause of sickness and the like through possession were called, in general, *tau'a*. Those who made the god or spirit enter into their bodies through their mouths, so that they might prophesy and answer questions regarding sickness and death, were specifically called *pae'a*. These appear usually, if not always, to have been women. Their practice was spoken of as *ha'a topa te etua*, to cause the god to fall, or *ha'a u'u te etua*, to make the god enter. Dordillon's dictionary (8) gives *tihoka* as the term for the descent of a god into the body of a person. 756 741

On Hiva Oa the practice of a *pae'a* was described as follows: If someone were ill, a woman whose profession it was to divine the cause of sickness would be sent for. She would come and spend the night at the house of the sick person, or the sick person would be taken to a dark place outside the sleeping house. When the *pae'a* went through her experience of possession, there was always a large crowd of people looking on. The *pae'a* would open her mouth very wide and the god would enter her stomach through it. She would then speak in a whining voice, which was supposed to be that of the god, telling the cause of sickness and the probability of recovery. 755 757

Père Pierre (4) says that such practitioners worked only at night, in order that the *tau'a* might better hide the jugglery connected with his practice. After a piece of cloth had been laid out in the house of the sick person and the lights were put out, the practitioner (*tau'a*) would draw himself up to the rafters of the house, and stirring the thatch to make a rustling, would make a noise with his lips. These sounds were supposed to be made by the god. He would then let himself fall with a thud upon the cloth that had been spread out—the sound of his landing was thought to mark the descent of the god. In his natural voice, the *tau'a* would then ask, "Who are you?" In a false voice, he would reply, "I am N——," giving the name of some deity. Assuming again his natural voice, he would ask why the patient was sick, and a reply would come in a false voice. This, according to Père Pierre, was called *etua ha'a topa*, meaning, to cause the god to descend for consultation. It is not certain in my mind whether this is a description of the same practice as that given above,

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for there is nothing in the description so given by Père Pierre to indicate that the god in this case was supposed to enter the body of the *tau'a*. It has already been pointed out that ventriloquism was used in connection with the possession of the inspirational priest by tribal gods.

Dordillon (9) gives another description of this phenomenon called *etua topa*. An inspirational priest was called to a sick man's house. He summoned his god to come. When he had come, the practitioner asked, "Are you the god?" The god replied, *"Io, io, io, io."* (Dordillon explains that the noise was similar to that made at times by a fowl. The practitioner asked, "Are you angry?" The same reply came, *"Io, io, io, io."* The priest then asked, "Will the sick man die?" *"Vi, vi, vi, vi,"* came the reply of the god. The practitioner repeated his question. The god then replied, *"Vii, vii, vii, vii,"* which was interpreted to mean that the man would die. The god, asked when, replied that it would be the next day.

Another account by the same writer describes a similar rite as follows: The practitioner came in the evening. Songs were sung, and the lights then extinguished. The god descended and said, *"Ve, ve, ve, ve,* here is the fish on the land, it is Na-iki" (the name of the tribe). When the god had fallen upon the mat, the practitioner said, "Let your friend go free." "We shall go together," replied the god, "he will die."

According to Père Siméon (7) the ceremony of causing the god to fall began with the singing of the chant called the *mumu*. If it was desired to have a number of gods fall, one went to the house of the *tau'a* carrying the extremity of a coconut leaf called *kopiti*.

What was called *etua amo*, described by Père Jean (19), is evidently another trick of such practitioners. The god who came to possess the *tau'a* was thought to carry him and his mat out of the house in which he was seated, by way of the ridge-pole, without disturbing the thatch.

There is now living in Nuku Hiva a woman who is a practitioner of this kind, whom I was unfortunately unable to induce to work for me or to discuss these matters in any way, for the reason that she had been in trouble with government authorities for having supposedly caused a death by a curse. It would appear that this woman works as a diviner by means of trance rather than by possession. She is said to discern the cause of illness and the outcome of it, to find lost articles, and so on. Dordillon gives the following words, meaning to be in a state of trance: *ahue te menava, kukina o te ate, kukukina, kukuina, pueueu, pupukina, touha.*

Medico-Magical Remedies

Medicines were prepared and administered by *tuhuna fainu* (*fainu*, potion or medium). There was a rule that a native doctor could take

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755 ing the shed, he picked up the food, and rushed out with it precipitately. It was thought that the viands had attracted the spirit back—the *tau'a* showed scratches on the food, which indicated that the spirit had been partaking. He then pretended to catch the spirit in a vessel, and proved his success by exhibiting a large black caterpillar in it. The vessel was then applied to the ear of the sick person and the spirit was supposed to re-enter his body.

Presages of Death

787 763 Presages of death often came in dreams of various kinds. It is said also that sometimes a spirit was heard outside the sleeping house at night, calling the name of an inmate. He whose name was called was soon to die. Where there was sickness, the cry of a particular bird—the species varied in different valleys—presaged the death of the afflicted person. It was the *kaako* bird in Hatiheu (4); at Pua Ma'u it was the *koevaeva* (*Endamis tahitiensis*).

WITCHCRAFT

754 Sorcery of the type about to be described was known as *nati* (*nani*) *kaha*. *Nati* or *nani* means to tie up, or bind, and also a sharp point, being applied for example to the bayonet used by the European soldiers. *Kaha* means spittle and also coconut fiber. *Nati kaha* was applied both to the practice and to the professionals who devoted themselves to it, the latter being called also *tuhuna nati kaha*. Such witches were both male and female. It appears that certain tribes were more addicted to the practice of this type of sorcery than others. The medium through which the spell was worked was saliva, urine, excrement, clothing, or anything else that had been intimately associated with the victim. It was called *mouuu* (a word applied also to bait used by fishermen); another term for it was *momo*.

A spell that had been worked on a person showed its effect sometimes quickly, sometimes slowly. The victim might waste away gradually or he might be afflicted with violent stomach trouble and die in a few days. One informant from Tahu Ata described the effect of *nati kaha* as being indicated by the appearance of white spots on the stomach, a symptom that was followed by violent pains in that region and death in a few days. A spell manifested itself sometimes in chills and fever. I have been told of one victim whose eyes were afflicted and of another whose hands and arms were affected.

On Hiva Oa after the "bait" or medium for transmitting the spells (a piece of clothing, or the like) had been secured, a fire was built in a hole and burnt to ashes. The ashes were then scraped away, a hole was

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754 saw in it the sorceress who was causing the trouble and went to Hiva Oa, where she lived, to visit her. As he approached, he announced himself by chanting (*tatapa*), "I am———," using the name of the old woman's grandchild. He told her that she must remove the spell, but the old woman refused to listen to him. A second time, the young man built his fire, saw the old witch in it again, and returned, telling her this time that, if [681] she did not remove the spell, he would bring the French authorities, who would send her to the French penal colony in New Caledonia—to a native the most terrifying of all punishments. Frightened into acquiescence, the old woman took the man to the place where she had performed the spell, dug up the article of clothing that had been buried, and scattered the ashes and earth. The native wrote down the exact date and hour of this happening, and it was found afterwards that, at precisely this time, the afflicted captain's eyes were relieved and he removed the bandage which he had worn for months.

Protection Against Spells

Père Pierre (4) describes the rite called *kopu ehu*, the object of which was to protect or insulate an individual against *nati kaha*. A *tuhuna* (whether there was a special *tuhuna* for this is not evident) was employed. He made of coconut fiber seven smooth rings (*mata*), six of which he burnt upon a stone, throwing away the seventh. The ashes he put in coconut water (*vai oe*) with *fau* flowers. This drunk as a potion by a person, insured him against a spell of *kaha*, even though one might be worked directly against him.

Sometimes when a person was employing a native doctor to cure some ill, a personal enemy found out where this doctor had built the fire he had used in preparing his remedy, and at that place the enemy built another fire and recited a spell to counteract the one intended to cure, thus causing the sickness to remain.

DIVINING

787 One of the most common methods of second sight was by gazing into a liquid. Thieves were sometimes detected by *tuhuna* employed for this purpose by gazing into a taro leaf filled with water. In the story of Kena, the hero's mother fills a taro leaf with water, looks into it, and, seeing the lower regions (Havai'i), dives into the water and thus arrives in these regions. In another story is described the pouring of oil on the surface of the sea so that the person might see into the lower regions. Inspirational priests at the temple were supposed to be able to detect breakers of the ceremonial *tapu* by seeing their images in their bowls of *kava*.

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never after heard of. The man died, and the woman was found, and taken back by a canoe, which arrived there in search of feathers. Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, on these voyages of discovery, the priests come lurking to the houses of the inhabitants of the valley, whence they sail, and in a squeaking affected voice, inform them that they have found a land abounding in bread-fruit, hogs, cocoa-nuts, every thing that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean, never to return.

Ask them how they obtained their knowledge of those islands, and they tell you from their gods. They name six islands, two have already been mentioned, to wit, Vavao and Ootoopoo. The others are Hitahee, to the south of St. Christiana, which is said to be a small island. Nookuahee and Kappenooa, to leeward of Madison's Island, four days' sail distant; and Pooheka, a fine island, said to lie to the westward of Roberts' Islands, the existence of which is not doubted by them.

Of bananas they count upwards of twenty different kinds, some approaching very near the plantain in their appearance, but it is certain that they have none of the latter on the island. The manner of ripening the banana is as convenient and simple as it is expeditious. They dig in the ground a round or square hole, of about three feet in depth, made perfectly level at the bottom, and of the size suited to the quantity of bananas intended to be put into it. They then collect an oily nut, much resembling our common walnut, which is also used by them instead of candles. These are broken, mixed with dirt, and strewed about the bottom of the hole. On this is laid a layer of grass, with which the sides are also carefully lined; after which the bunches of green bananas are packed in, and covered with grass, to prevent the dirt from coming in contact with them. The whole is covered with dirt, and left four days, at the expiration of which time, they are taken out, perfectly ripe and of a beautiful yellow colour.

The *tarra* is a root much resembling a yam, of a pungent taste, and excellent when boiled or roasted. The natives, by grating it, and mixing it with cocoa-nut oil, make of it a paste which is highly esteemed by them. It grows in a nut soil, and much pains is taken in its cultivation.

The sugar-cane grows to an uncommon size here, it being no unusual thing to see the stalks fourteen feet in length, and ten or twelve inches in circumference. The only use they make of it is to chew and swallow the juice.

The *kava* is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with

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over captives. Women could prevent wars if they so desired. They had only to announce, "This road I name after my genitals," and any man who passed that way was certain to be killed. The inspirational priests took omens before the warriors went into battle to determine whether or not the time was favorable, and the ceremonial priests performed sacrifices.

None of these war expeditions was at any great distance. The war might be with a tribe which lived only a mile away. The fighters would frequently call a halt for meal times, and fighting usually was stopped before dark, as there were unpleasant demons abroad after nightfall. In the valley of Taipee, which is only six miles long and half a mile wide, there were three tribes which had been at war with one another for generations. Since individual head hunting and raiding to take captives for sacrifices went on continuously between formal wars, the people of the valley lived in a constant state of jitters.

Formal wars were declared by the chief, and the forces were mustered under the leadership of the *toa* or skilled warriors. There was no drilling or military instruction. The battles in the field were merely scrimmages directed by the *toa,* or individual combats, the object of which was to get the body of the enemy. There was one old gentleman in the valley in which I lived who had been the proud possessor of a whaling harpoon with a rope attached. He had achieved a great reputation as a warrior with this weapon, for with it he could spear a man and haul him back in record time.

Small raids were carried on at any time. A favorite trick was for a party to go by war canoe to a valley and land two or three men under cover of night. At dawn the raiders would creep into the village and pick off any early risers who came out of their houses. They would rush their captives back to the shore, signal the war canoes, and be off before the rest of the village was awake.

Each valley had its fort, or forts, which were usually built on high spurs in the mountains. Here the chief, protected by a special guard, took refuge along with the old women and chil-

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was apparently uneasy about his promise, and went up to the sacred place alone on the day before he was to take me. He came back looking very ill, said that he had seen a spirit and was going to die. He took to his bed and three days later he was dead, apparently scared to death.

In each of these sacred places there was a sacred grove, a series of platforms with images, etc. Near the house of the inspirational priest was a curious structure shaped like an obelisk, fifteen feet on a side and sixty feet high. At the tribal assembly place there was another sacred place which was open to all and used for small and unimportant sacrifices. Human sacrifices were all carried on in the sacred groves back in the hills. Some one tribal god was always in the ascendancy at any given time, the dominance shifting with the result of the oracles given by his inspirational priest and with the god's power to fulfill the demands of his followers. In other words, the god most worshipped was the one who worked most effectively; he was usually a deity recently dead.

The priesthood was highly organized with two classes, the inspirational and the ceremonial. Each important god had his own inspirational priest, although two or three lesser gods might share a priest among them. The inspirational priests of the highest gods outranked even the tribal chief. These priests were graded in duties and power in accordance with the importance of the god they served. Women could be inspirational priests but were rarely possessed by a god of high rank. The inspirational priest demonstrated his fitness for the office by being possessed by the spirit of the god immediately after the death of the previous priest of this particular god, or immediately after the deification of a new god. In other words, as soon as a vacancy in the priesthood occurred, everyone would be waiting expectantly to see who would become possessed. The individual thus chosen was seized with violent twitchings, made strange sounds, and finally, after emerging from the hysterical seizure, pronounced an oracle.

The inspirational priests of the higher gods were thought to

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expropriated a garden which belonged to a household of low rank. The wife sent her familiar to make the chief's wife sick and give her the appearance of pregnancy. When the chief's wife realized that her illness was due to magic, a ritual was performed to discover what *fanaua* was causing her trouble. As soon as she and her husband, the chief, learned the name of the *fanaua,* they knew who had sent it and why. The chief thereupon returned the garden, the spirit was called off, and his wife was well again. In cases where restitution was not made, however, the attack continued until the woman died.

Occasionally women who had *fanaua* were killed by the irate relatives of women whom their spirits had attacked. This was the only case in which men killed women, and even this seems to have been somewhat unusual and to have resulted in a blood feud.

The incidence of *fanaua* was about one to every three women. The *fanaua* themselves were graded in power, a *fanaua* who was a relative being considered more effective for defense than for offense. He protected his women against the attacks of other *fanaua* but would not act as a strong or constant aggressor against her enemies.

The *fanaua* belief had still another form. Not only the spirit of the woman who had the *fanaua* was united to him after death, but also the spirits of all the women whom he might have killed. For the victims, at least, this was a highly unpleasant relationship, and could be escaped only by directing the spirit to kill another woman to take the place of the first victim. A woman who died in childbirth was thus assumed to be united to a *fanaua* after death and eager to kill some other woman in order to escape from him. She might indicate the new victim to him, not out of personal animosity toward this woman but merely as a means of getting herself out of a bad spot. It was therefore dangerous for a woman to approach a place where a *fanaua's* victim was buried, since by doing so she might attract the dead woman's attention. Such victims were buried in places